

RETHINKING HIJAB IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA: A STUDY OF HIJAB COMMUNITY “TUNECCA LOVER COMMUNITY”

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Abstract

Hijab (veil) for female Muslims has been subject to a debate regarding its meanings. On the one hand, it represents the virtue of religious obedience and piety. Still, on the other hand, it is associated with the form of women oppressions in the public domain. At this point, the hijab has been an arena of contesting interpretations. Meanwhile, contemporary Indonesia is witnessing the increase in the use of veil among urban female Muslims that leads to the birth of various hijab wearer communities. One of them is Tunecca Lover Community (TLC). This community has become a new sphere where female Muslims articulate their ideas about Islam through various activities such as religious gathering, hijab tutorial class, fashion show, and charity activities. This study seeks to answer several questions: Why do these women decide to wear a hijab? Why do they join the TLC? How do they perceive the veil? Is it related to religious doctrines or other factors such as lifestyle? This research employs a qualitative method using documentation and interview to gather the data among 150 members of the TLC. This research shows that their understanding of the hijab results from the common perception that places the veil as a religious obligation. Nevertheless, each of the members has one's orientation over the hijab. This paper also suggests that they try to transform this understanding into modern settings. As a consequence, they are not only committed to the traditionally spiritual meaning of the hijab but are also nuanced with modern ideas such as lifestyle and particular social class. Their participation in the TLC enables them to reach both goals simultaneously.

Keywords:

hijab; fashion; lifestyle; Tunecca Lover Community.

Abstrak

Perbincangan mengenai penggunaan kerudung (sekarang lebih sering disebut hijab) bagi perempuan Muslim merupakan topik diskusi yang selalu hangat. Hal ini karena kerudung terkadang difahami sebagai simbol ketaatan dan kesalehan. Akan tetapi, di lain waktu penggunaan kerudung sering difahami sebagai bagian dari upaya represi perempuan di ranah publik dalam Islam. Dengan demikian, penggunaan hijab selalu berkaitan dengan interpretasi yang berbeda. Sementara itu, di Indonesia, kita mendapati bahwa penggunaan hijab semakin populer di kalangan perempuan Muslim modern dan bahkan memicu munculnya komunitas-komunitas hijab. Salah satu komunitas tersebut adalah Tunecca Lover Community (Komunitas pengguna Tunecca – salah satu merk pakaian Muslimah). Komunitas ini sudah memiliki banyak anggota dan mereka sering mengadakan berbagai aktifitas seperti pengajian, tutorial hijab, peragaan busana dan penggalangan amal. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjawab beberapa pertanyaan berkaitan dengan: mengapa para perempuan tersebut memutuskan untuk menggunakan hijab? Mengapa mereka bergabung dengan TLC? Bagaimana persepsi mereka tentang hijab? Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dan interview sebagai sarana mengumpulkan data. Interview dilakukan dengan hampir 150 anggota di seluruh Indonesia menggunakan media sosial. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa para anggota memiliki persepsi yang berbeda tentang hijab, tetapi mereka berusaha merepresentasikannya ke dalam nuansa modernitas. Untuk itu, mereka melihat hijab bukan lagi sebagaimana dulu difahami hanya sebagai kewajiban bagi perempuan Muslim untuk mengenakannya karena ada aturan agama. Mereka juga memaknai hijab sebagai bagian dari gaya hidup dan kelas sosial.

Kata Kunci:

hijab; fashion; lifestyle; Tunecca Lover Community.

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A. INTRODUCTION

Hijab discourse is not only part of the dynamism of civilization, but it has also resulted in a right and consistent attitude towards a belief. The concept of the hijab is controversial and becomes a meaningful phenomenon, both theologically and socially.¹ Hijab, in the framework of democracy, is viewed as the symbol of gender segregation as part of patriarchal culture and the control of the public sphere. Besides, wearing a hijab is perceived to be the symbol of women's oppression and a sign of radicalism. In this way, the veil has entered the arena of contestation of a game of meaning and interpretation.

Hijab in Indonesia has become a common phenomenon and familiar. The veil is a symbol of the identity of a woman who wears it. In general, the study of the modernity and religiosity of Muslim women is characterized by clothes that cover their bodies. Clothes play a role as primary utilities to cover the *aurat* (part of the body that must be covered) in the law of Islam. They are considered *maslahah ammah* (public interests). The Qur'an stated various features of clothing include: to cover the body, to symbolize the beauty, to protect from extreme weather, and to identify the social status of the wearer.² Currently, these clothes play beneficiaries (utilities) role as a symbol of "luxury" and "beauty." The development of Muslim clothing is no longer seen as traditional utilities but also as fashion and lifestyle. Hijab is complementary in daily life, involves the likes and dislikes of wearing Muslim clothing, and the situation suitable for wearing the hijab, even what kind of fabric used for the veil is socially and aesthetically appropriated.³

Hijab also becomes a trend in Indonesia for those who wore it. In other words, the hijab can communicate the desires to become modern Muslim women who are willing to follow trendy, fashionable, comfortable, and accurate

attire, according to sharia. Tuneeca Lover Community (herein TLC) is one of the gathering places for Muslim hijab wearers. The community first established through social networking, and they hold meetings in some areas to arrange activities like religious studies, hijab classes, talk shows, fashion shows, social events, and others. This new meaning of the hijab changes people's perceptions from the veil that initially functioned as clothing that covers the body to fashionable clothing.

This research is field research. Tuneeca Lover Community (TLC) is the choice as a research object to explore how Muslim women's knowledge about the concept of hijab and their practices influence their behavior in wearing the hijab that inspired to form a hijab community. This study also analyses how the shifting of veil meaning from the concept of religious attire into a fashion for modern women's community.

This study uses a qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach by focusing on life experiences among Muslim women belongs to TLC. This study also analyses the meaning of the hijab and their motives among TLC hijab wearers.

This research explores the concept of the veil from the Islamic perspective. It also investigates women's understanding of the hijab perception among TLC as a sample of the modern culture of Indonesian women. The data in this research are collected through documentation and interview with 150 members of TLC spread throughout Indonesia.

This research employs the theory of phenomenology from Alfred Schutz. Schutz introduced the concept of intersubjectivity, meaning, and the essence of interpretation in

¹Atik Catur Budiati, "Jilbab: Gaya Hidup Baru Kaum Hawa," *Jurnal Sosiologi Islam* 1, no. 1 (2011): 59–69.

²M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 15th ed. (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2007), 500.

³Ahmad Suhendra, "Kontestasi Identitas Melalui Pergeseran Interpretasi Hijab Dan Abstrak Jilbab Dalam Al Qur'an," *Palastren: Jurnal Studi Gender* 6, no. 1 (2016): 1–22.

social life.⁴ In the phenomenological context, Muslim women who are members of TLC are actors who consider the community as a medium of communication regarding the hijab. TLC may have one of two motives, namely future-oriented motives and past-oriented motives.

This study also uses the social construction theory of reality suggested by Berger. Berger argues that social reality objectively does exist, but its meaning comes from and by subjective (individual) relationships with the objective world.⁵ Berger's social construction theory about reality explains TLC members' knowledge and experience in carrying out their activities with hijab fashion content in the community and building its social world model by working with other individuals involved in the reality. They construct and reconstruct one another. They create a mutual understanding of hijab and fashion together. This study aims to find their assumptions and biases to explain reality so that it can explore TLC members' understanding of the veil that they practice in their community.

Herbert Mead's theory of symbolic interaction explains that there are three main concepts, namely mind, self, and society. Mead defines the mind as the ability to use symbols that have the same social meaning, and he believes that humans must develop the mind through interaction with others, using language. He defines the self as the ability to reflect on ourselves and other people's perspectives. He does not believe that the 'self' comes from self-introspection or simple self-thinking. According to Mead, the 'self' develops from a special kind of role-taking. When Mead theorizes about symbolic interactionism, he observes that through language, people have the ability to become subjects and objects for

themselves. As subjects, humans act, and as objects, humans perceive themselves as working. He refers to 'self' as the subject acting as 'I' and the 'self' as the object observing as 'me.' The self is a process that integrates between 'I' as a subject and 'me' as an object.⁶ Symbolic interactionism holds that human behavior is a product of their interpretation of the world around them, and response is chosen based on how individuals interpret the situation. This theory also can examine how the actions taken by TLC members form and provide meaning in interactions through symbols (hijab), so there are exchanged meanings in the interaction process delivered in the community.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. General Description of Hijab

The word *Hijab* originated from Arabic, *hajaba* means *al-sitr* (cover). According to the dictionary of *Lisânal-'Arab* and *Mukhtâral-Sahah hijab* means a veil or hiding from view or barrier wall as stated in the Quran Surah al-Ahzab [33]: 59. An object is considered closed if it is behind another object, and through that way, other people cannot see it.⁷ The literal meaning of the hijab is the separation between men and women.⁸ Hijab is not only a cover for women but also their separators from men. Thus, based on previous understanding, the hijab is limiter or protection. In this term, the hijab is a boundary barrier for women not to be seen by men.⁹ The notion of hijab based on the verse of the Qur'an means that something is blocked between two sides so that one of the two cannot see each other. Thus, hijab doesn't mean clothes worn by humans; because even by covering her entire body, a woman can still

⁴Alex Sobur, *Filsafat Komunikasi Tradisi Dan Metode Fenomenologi* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2013), 50.

⁵Poloma Margaret, *Sosiologi Kontemporer* (Jakarta: PT Rajawali Press, 2007), 298.

⁶Ricard West and Lynn H. Turner, *Pengantar Teori Komunikasi Analisis Dan Aplikasi* (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2012), 106.

⁷Abd Rasul Abd Hasan Al-Ghaffar, *Wanita Islam Dan Gaya Hidup Modern*, trans. Burhanuddin Fanani (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayat, 1995), 35.

⁸Husein Shahab, *Jilbab Menurut Al-Qur'an Dan as-Sunnah* (Bandung: Mizan, 1986), 68–69.

⁹Al-Ghaffar, *Wanita Islam Dan Gaya Hidup Modern*, 35–36.

see someone else around her.¹⁰ Hijab prevents the sight of men from women and vice versa. Without the hijab, it is assumed that persons will be challenging to control their desire for one another.¹¹ Hijab term is well-known in several African countries such as Egypt, Sudan, and Yemen.

In Indonesia, there is a tendency to call clothes that are under religious sharia as hijab or *jilbab*.¹² In some literature, the terms *jilbab* and hijab are equal, but in the others, the two are different. The plural form of *jilbab* is *jalabib* (as mentioned in the Quran Surah al-Ahzab[33]: 59). It means loose clothing used to cover a woman's entire body. According to Quraish Shihab, *jilbab* is loose shirts equipped with a veil as a head covering (outer garments or also mantles and cloaks) that can cover the entire body. Therefore, in Arab regions are known different terms: *Jalâbiyyah* in Saudi, *Gallabeyyah* in Egypt, *Jellabah* in Morocco, and *Jubah* (robes) in Indonesia.¹³ This type of clothing in Arabia, according to Fadwa el-Guindi, is known as unisex clothing (which is used by men and women).¹⁴ The definition of the *hijab* is different from one region to another. There is no uniformity of mode regarding hijab in Islamic countries.¹⁵ The command to use of hijab and *jilbab* available in the Qur'an and Sunnah and it's understanding and practice in the present days are different. During the time of the Prophet Muhammad, *jilbab* was an outer garment that covered the entire body from the head to the legs of adult women. In Indonesia, the term '*jilbab*' is a head covering, while the hijab is the clothes covering the entire body of a woman from head to toe.¹⁶ Thus, the meaning of hijab and *jilbab* that is

popular in Indonesia has shifted its meaning. For clarity, the meaning of the hijab in this article follows an understanding that is generally understood by Indonesian today, namely loose clothes covering the entire body of a woman from head to toe.

In religious belief, the concept of the hijab has emerged before Islam. All divine religions and other religions generally call on women to use headscarves with their respective backgrounds and motivations. In ancient times before Islam, Arab women wore different models of clothing such as veils to cover the head, long clothes to cover the body, hooded, and dresses worn by some women to cover their faces with holes in their secondary parts.¹⁷ Basically, the veil is popular before the arrival of Islam, such as in Greek and Persian countries.

The use of veil originally means of repelling disaster and warning signals.¹⁸ But in subsequent developments, the veil gained religious legitimacy. Hijab is made a mandatory dress for women, especially when undergoing religious rituals. In history, the wearing of the veil for the Jews became a symbol of high social status; its use was not coercion for women but became a pride. Past civilizations that obliged the wearing of the veil for women did not intend to bring down their humanity and demean a woman, but merely to respect and glorify them, so that values and norms of their social and religious norm did not collapse. Initially, many churches and their nuns wore the veil and head covering while wearing long clothes that covered their entire

¹⁰Abu Syuqqah, *Kebebasan Wanita*, trans. As'ad Yasin (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1998), 16.

¹¹Yasmine Zaki Shahab, *Identitas Dan Otoritas; Rekonstruksi Tradisi Betawi* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 2004), 18–19.

¹²Nina Sutiretna, *Anggun Berjilbab* (Bandung: Al-Bayan, 1997), 52.

¹³M. Quraish Shihab, *Jilbab: Pakaian Wanita Muslimah* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2015).

¹⁴Fadwael-Guindi, *Jilbab Antara Kesalehan, Kesopanan Dan Perlawanan* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2003), 54.

¹⁵Engineer Asghar Ali, *Matinya Perempuan* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 1999), 103–105.

¹⁶Amir Taufik Kusumayadi, *Enam Puluh Satu Tanya Jawab Tentang Jilbab (Kerudung)* (Bandung: Penerbit Espe Press, 1986), 5.

¹⁷Syuqqah, *Kebebasan Wanita*, 16.

¹⁸Nasaruddin Umar, "Antropologi Jilbab," *Ulumul Qur'an* 5, no. 6 (1996): 36.

bodies so that they were far from cruelty and evil.¹⁹

Islam spread to Indonesia from the 13th to the 15th centuries. From the 15th century onwards, Islam began to develop rapidly when many kingdoms embraced Islam. According to history, around the 15th-century, women in the archipelago used *kebaya*, a kind of clothing that was influenced by Islamic culture.²⁰ The 19th century showed a different pattern in which the wearing of *jilbab* or headscarves was introduced as it was seen in the Paderi Movement in Minangkabau. This revolutionary movement is also struggling to promote wearing the veil in public space.²¹ Twisted veil models have also been commonly used among educated (limited) groups before the independence, such as the community in Diniyah Putri Padang Panjang (established in 1923), Muslimat Jogjakarta (1920), and Persis (established 1923 in Bandung). Likewise, Minang veil model has also been commonly used and applied as student uniforms in several *Madrasahs* or Islamic boarding schools since before the 1980s. At the time of independence, the headscarf (*kerudung*) was popularized by Ibu Fatmawati, the wife of Indonesia's first President. In this case, Fatmawati showed to the world that this is typical Indonesian clothing. So, at that time, the headscarf (*kerudung*) became a symbol of national identity. This fact shows that when the country proclaimed its independence, scarfs as women's attire were not new. Until 1983 the term *kerudung* was still used, and no other terms were known. The term *jilbab* appeared more recently, in the debate about the use of student hair coverings in public schools between the Minister of Education and Culture, Noegroho Notoso (1983-1985), and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). During the Soeharto regime, Islamic politics

was suppressed, and the Islamic culture was also marginalized. Islamic culture, including Muslim women's clothing, is considered an obstacle to modernization.²²

Along with the development of culture and the progress of Islam, the veil became known in Indonesia. However, the reception of the veil in this country is initially problematic. In the context of Indonesian society, the term hijab is unknown. On the other hand, it also faces discrimination because of political authorities so that its acceptance by the community must go through a complicated process. Even so, slowly but surely, the hijab became popular and then became a trend everywhere. Now, the hijab trend has become a women's fashion for members of religious studies, public school students, women workers, women executives, public officials, women entrepreneurs, television reporters, and celebrities.

Two factors make hijab a trend in Indonesia. The first is external factors, namely international situation that influenced it at that time, among which were quite dominant was the influence of the thought of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn in Egypt and the Iranian revolution in 1979. The second is internal factors, namely, in the 1980s, the relationship between government and Islam began to thaw. The government started to accommodate the interests and aspirations of Muslims.²³

2. Paradigms of Islamic Thought about Hijab

The Qur'an mentions the code of women's clothing in various verses, for example, Q.S. al-Ahzab[33]: 53, 59 and Q.S. an-Nūr[24]: 31. However, there is no single unified perception about the command to wear the hijab in the Quran. The most debated topics are the concept of women's clothing and the boundaries of

¹⁹Al-Ghaffar, *Wanita Islam Dan Gaya Hidup Modern*, 23.

²⁰Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa, Silang Budaya: Jaringan Asia*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005), 32.

²¹Ali Tantowi, "The Quest of Indonesian Muslim Identity: Debates on Veiling from the 1920s to 1940s," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 4, no. 1 (2010): 65.

²²Bani Syarif Maula, "Indonesian Muslim Women: Between Culture, Religion, and Politics," *Ijtima'iyah: Journal of Muslim Society Research* 1, no. 1 (2016): 113-131.

²³Abdul Aziz and Imam Tholikhah, *Gerakan Islam Kontemporer Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1994), 211-215.

parts of the body that must be covered.²⁴ Muhammad Shahrur conveys one type of interpretation.²⁵ He argues that women's clothing should adapt to the local situation and conditions. Women in the Arabian Peninsula may not dress like other women in other countries, even among Arab countries. Furthermore, he argues that there is a dress boundary, the minimum and maximum limits for the body to be covered.²⁶ This approach differs significantly from medieval interpretation. Muslim scholars in the medieval period showed that Muslims covered their entire bodies except for their faces and palms. Moreover, some others argue that Muslim women should cover their whole body except the eyes. This explanation is stated in the Quranic interpretations such as *Tafsir Tanwir al-Miqbās* by al-Fayrūzabādy (1329–1414), *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* by Jalaluddin al-Suyuti (1445–1505) and Jalaluddin al-Mahalli (1389–1459), *Safwah al-Tafāsir* by Muhammad 'Alī al-Ṣābūnī (1930–2009), and *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* by al-Imām Ibn Kathīr (1300–1373). The different interpretation occurs because of different interpretive methods, academic background, school of thought, and context the time and place where those Muslim scholars live. There are three paradigms of hijab interpretation in Islamic thought: traditional paradigm, moderate paradigm, and progressive paradigm.

a. Traditional Paradigm

This paradigm comes from orthodox Muslim scholars (*ulamas*) and their followers. This

paradigm states that wearing a hijab for women is part of the obligation to cover all women's bodies in any situation and condition. The goal is that Muslim women are respected and different from the characteristics of ignorant women and slave women. Many scholars grouped in the traditional paradigm are Ibn Kathir (1300–1373) in interpreting the hijab as a scarf worn over women's head and chest (*khimr*);²⁷ Al-Maraghī (1881–1945),²⁸ Imam Al-Qurṭhubi (1214–1273),²⁹ and Ibn Mas'ud (d. 650).³⁰

Ibn Kathir interpreted word *zīnat* in Q.S.24:31 as whole female body parts, including the face. Ibn Mas'ud interpreted visible *zīnat* as clothing, while invisible *zīnat* as anklets, earrings, and wristbands. In contrast, Al-Qurṭūbī³¹ and Sayyid Quṭb³² interpret the term usual visible *zīnat* as faces and palms because those are usually seen when carrying out activities and performing worship, for example, when doing prayers and the Hajj.

Al-Jassas argues that woman body parts that should be covered are her whole body, including her face and hands.³³ According to Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi, Q.S.al-Ahzab[33]: 59 assign the Prophet to order his wives, his daughters, and all Muslim women to always pay attention to *al-hisymah* (modesty, closure, and shame) in all their circumstances. According to Abu Hayyan, al-Utsaimin, and Ali al-Sabūnī, the textual meaning of QS al-Ahzab[33]: 53 is the basis for obligatory hijab by all Muslim women. Therefore, every Muslim woman is obliged to cover her body, including her face and arms. Hijab separates

²⁴Katherine Bullock, *Rethinking Muslim Women and the Veil: Challenging Historical & Modern Stereotypes* (Surrey: IIIT, 2002), 103.

²⁵Abdul Mustaqim, "Pemikiran Fikih Kontemporer Muhammad Syahrur Tentang Poligami Dan Jilbab," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 5, no. 1 (2011): 67–80.

²⁶Alim Khoiri, *Fiqh Busana Telaah Kritis Pemikiran Syahrur* (Yogyakarta: Kalimedia, 2016), 27.

²⁷Al-Imam al-Hafidz Imam Ad-Din Abi Al-Fida Isma'il Bin Umar Ibnu Katsir Ad-Dimasyqi, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-'Adzim* (Libanon: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 1971), 10.

²⁸Ahmad Musthafa Al-Maraghi, *Tafsir Al-Maraghi Juz 22*, trans. Bahrūn Abu Bakar (Semarang: PT Toha Putera, 1987), 61.

²⁹Al-Qurṭhubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam Al-Qur'an* (Beirut: Muassasat al-Risalat, 1998).

³⁰M. Ahmad Isawi, *Tafsir Ibnu Mas'ud*, trans. Ali Murtadla Syahudi (Jakarta: Pustaka 'Azzam, 2009), 818.

³¹Al-Qurṭhubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam Al-Qur'an*.

³²Sayyid Quṭb, *Tafsir Fi Dhilal Al-Qur'an*, trans. Fathurrahman Abdul Hamid (Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, 2008), 584.

³³Abu Bakr Ahmad bin Ali al-Razi Al-Jashshash, *Ahkam Al-Qur'an, Juz I* (Beirut: Dar al-Ihya al-Turast al-Arabi, 1992), 673.

between men and women because its meaning is as a barrier. Moreover, this verse is also used by some as a basis for women not to leave their homes except for essential needs, and they must be accompanied by their *mahram* (male relatives), as stated in QS al-Ahzab[33]: 33.³⁴

b. Moderate Paradigm

This paradigm interprets Q.S. 24: 31 that the woman is instructed not to show every part of her *zīinat* but should cover it, except those are habitually seen. According to IbnAthiyah, 'the excluded part' can develop based on the urgent needs of a person. Al-Qurṭhubī commented the face and the palms of the hand are often (usually) seen in daily life, including state of worship such as when praying and hajj. The textual meaning of Q.S. 24: 31, "except those that appear from them," are understood as faces and the usually visible palms.³⁵ This paradigm argues that the exception refers to regular habits. However, which practice is to refer to? Is it the habit in the time of revelation or in the Muslim community at different times? The views of early Muslim scholars such as al-Qurṭhubi argued that the limits tolerated in women's clothing based on the customs were habits during the revelation of the Qur'an. In line with him, IbnMas'ud, al-'Auza'i, Sa'idIbnJubair, and 'Atha' agree with him. Then, followed by several religious scholars such as Hanafiyah, Malikiyah, and Syafi'iyah. This paradigm states that the women's body that should be covered is the whole body except the face, and both palms and some add legs.

M. Quraish Shihab says that "exceptions" are returned to the permanent norm in each society.³⁶ In line with him, Muhammad Ṭahir Ibn 'Asyur, a great ulama from Tunisia, the writer of *Maqâshidasy-Shari'ah al-Islamiyah* (2001), states that the custom of people must not be regarded as imposed customary on other

people in the name of religion, nor can it be forced.³⁷ For this group, Muslim women who wear hijab follow the instruction of the Qur'anic verse. However, Muslim women who do not wear hijab should not be considered to have violated religious teachings because the Qur'an never mentions the part of women's body that should be covered.

c. Progressive Paradigm

The third paradigm consists of progressive thinkers who based their argument on *Usul al-Fiqh* rule "*al-ibrah bi khusûṣal-sabab lâ bi 'umûm al-lafzi*" (legal making is based on the specific context of the revelation of the verse, not on the generality of the textual meaning). QS al-Ahzab[33]: 53 is an order to separate women from men, but this verse is specifically referring to the wives of the Prophet on the grounds of preserving their glory as of the wife of the Prophet. In fact, because of defending their honor, the verse also prohibits the Prophet's wives from remarrying with others after the Prophet's death. However, over time, the hijab has shifted its meaning from separators (that separate, especially the wives of the Prophet with other men) into clothing for all Muslim women in Indonesia.

Muhammad Sa'id al-Ashmawi,³⁸ the former Egyptian Supreme Judge, explicitly stated that the purpose of the proliferation of clothing in the Qur'an is to distinguish between free women from less honorable women, and the purpose of the order is to honor free women from evil or ill-treatment in society. The verse suggests to give a distinction between believing women and other women, not intended to be a perpetual rule. Therefore, when it is viewed in the present context, the teachings are no longer relevant, because the slavery system is

³⁴Hasanain Muhammad Makhluḥ, *Safwatul Bayan Lima'ani Al-Qur'an* (Kairo: Dar al-Basyair, 1994), 190.

³⁵Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 190.

³⁶Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 70.

³⁷Muhammad Ath-Thahir Ibn 'Asyur, *Tafsir At-Tahrir Wa At-Tanwir* (Tunis: Dar as-Suhnun, 2007).

³⁸Muhammad Said Al-Asymawi, *Kritik Atas Jilbab* (Jakarta: Jaringan Islam Liberal and the Asia Foundation, 2003), 63.

absent.³⁹ Other opinions even claim that the hijab is a complicated symbol. Wearing hijab is a phenomenon that has many different meanings and functions in many different contexts. Therefore, the community should be more accurate to proclaim the veil as an Islamic tradition or as a symbol of the oppression of women in the Muslim community.⁴⁰ The concept of hijab causes women's space limited, not to move freely out of the house because they are always under the supervision of the head of the family. The head of the family has the right to control the women's body, including their sexuality and reproduction.⁴¹ It is characterized by religious rules that give freedom to women to release their veils in front of their husbands or fathers.

The main point of this paradigm is that hijab is a cultural necessity for particular communities and not religious orders. Hijab is a form of local patriarchal Arabic tradition, which is preventive, and it is not relevant to be applied in the current culture (precisely the Indonesian context). Nashruddin Baidan states that the command to wear hijab in the Qur'an seems not explicit and absolute, but depends on individual circumstances. Women are instructed to wear hijab when they are bothered by bad people who always target women who do not wear hijab.⁴² Husein Muhammad also explained that the verse emphasized that hijab means a way to show the identity of free women from servant women. Where servant women in the tradition at that time was considered despicable and seen as not equal to free women, so they were easy victims of sexual harassment.⁴³ Asghar Ali Engineer states that the Qur'an and the Hadith have never specified certain clothing models that cover the face, such as the *burqa* (veil). Hijab, according

to him, is a phenomenon that originated from several community groups in some areas before Islam, for example, from Syria and Palestine, which were in the domination of Roman culture.⁴⁴ Nasaruddin Umar stated that the hadith of the Holy Prophet clearly explained that the face is included in the exceptions, as in the prayer and *haji*, that the face should not be covered.⁴⁵ Even Qasim Amin (1863-1908) considers the hijab covering the face is not part of critical religious subjects in Islam, so he advocated removing the veil (*al-sufūr*) because it is supposed to bring a backward decline in the Islamic world.⁴⁶

3. Understanding the Tunecca Lover Community (TLC) about the Concept of Hijab

In general, the study of the modernity and religiosity of Muslim women is characterized by clothing that covers the private body because of their religious values. Her clothes play a role as primary utilities, but covering the body based on the law of Islam is *masalah ammah* (general benefits). The problem is that these clothes are no longer positioned as beneficiaries (utilities), but become something "luxury" and "beauty." Dressing no longer functions to cover the nakedness and body, but show aesthetic value and luxury. The aesthetic value appears and continues to grow. The creativity of art turns to meet the user's desires and user needs, and then it is known as fashion contestation. The development of fashion is inseparable from productivity and creativity that go hand in hand with expressive novelty values, and naturally, traditional expectations will also take turns. It has happened in 10 years, many appearances portray fashion women.

³⁹Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 72.

⁴⁰A. Bazar Harahap and Nawangsih Sutardi, *Hak Asasi Manusia Dan Hukumnya* (Jakarta: Pecirindo, 2006), 21.

⁴¹Fatimah Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam* (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1991), 104.

⁴²Nashrudidin Baidan, *Tafsir Bi Ar-Ra'yi* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999), 36.

⁴³Husein Muhammad, *Fiqih Perempuan; Refleksi Kyai Atas Wacana Agama Dan Gender* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2001), 201–209.

⁴⁴Asghar Ali, *Matinya Perempuan*, 46.

⁴⁵Umar, "Antropologi Jilbab," 36.

⁴⁶Umar, "Antropologi Jilbab."

In many countries, which are predominantly Muslim, the simplicity in women's clothing is dictated by law or society. Women are required to cover themselves with traditional Islamic dress.⁴⁷ However, due to the influence of globalization, many Muslims live in societies dominated by other cultural practices. They are encouraged to express freedom of choice and have more flexibility in their selection of clothing. Many Muslim women faced such freedom and have chosen the standard of beauty from mainstream culture by adopting new clothing styles.⁴⁸ The diversity in the practice of dressing may be the result of the acculturation process. Acculturation occurs when people from different cultures make continuous, direct contact, and changes in cultural patterns of one or both groups arise. This cultural contact can lead to the adoption of new values, the creation of new identities, and changes in the practice of dress. Culture refers to the lifestyle of a group of people, including the religious, political, and economic behavior of group members. A culture consists of various ethnic groups that have ancestors, history, language, and religion, place of origin that is the same, tradition or habit.⁴⁹

In Indonesia, as the media consumption dominated in our daily life, various types of Muslim fashion affiliate with famous religious leaders. This Muslim clothing development not only has traditional utilities but also has become fashion and lifestyle. Hijab as complementary in everyday life involved in likes and dislikes wearing Muslim clothing, space was chosen for the veil, and suitable situations to wear hijab that is socially and aesthetically appropriate. In Indonesia, the hijab has turned into sophisticated fashion industry and market. One of the exciting social transformations is the shift in tastes and styles

of Muslim women in a dress that has been a strong tendency since the late 1980s and early 1990s and began to become part of the fashion industry since the late 1990s. There are "semiotic riches" of Muslim fashion when you witness the ways, patterns, accessories, and styles of Muslim dress. According to Berger, religious identity is an area where such a high distinction is perfected through the use of certain types of clothing, goods, and symbols.⁵⁰

The phenomenon of Indonesian society today accompanying economic progress is a lifestyle as a function of the different associations created by consumption relations. Consumption is no longer merely related to the value of use in fulfilling certain utility functions or basic human needs. Still, it is now associated with symbolic elements to mark class, status, or specific social symbols. Consumption expresses one's social position and cultural identity in society. What is consumed is no longer just an object, but also the social meanings are hidden behind it. At present, some modern Muslims regard hijab not only religious clothing but also a change in fashion sense. Many middle-class women and girls are now abuzz wearing Muslim dress designed by famous and expensive artists and designers. It is one example of how the logic of the fashion industry in the world of culture has met with a shift in religious consciousness transformed in the form of exoticism and symbolism of piety in a dress. One of those Muslim clothing brands is Tuneeca. The costumers of its brand make Tuneeca Lovers Community (TLC).

At least four factors influence the birth of the TLC community:

⁴⁷Mahmoud Shirazi, Matloob Ahmed Khan, and Rahat Ali Khan, "Coping Strategies: A Cross-Cultural Study," *Romanian Journal of Psychology, Psychotherapy and Neuroscience* 1, no. 2 (2011): 284–302.

⁴⁸Shirazi, Khan, and Khan, "Coping Strategies: A Cross-Cultural Study".

⁴⁹Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1996), 22.

⁵⁰Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*.

a. Ways to maintain the existence of the hijab for Muslim women

In line with the development of lifestyle, many people encounter a variety of fashion styles that can still be accepted by the community. It has led one brand, Tuneeca, to develop a hijab to compete with other fashion models. For this reason, a hijab wearer community is useful as a forum for Muslim women who want to develop their creativity in terms of wearing a hijab, a stunning hijab model, and certainly not inferior to the current fashion style. In the TLC community, one can share and ask how to wear a stylish hijab and stay fashionable. They can create their desired model.

b. Social interests

TLC seeks to foster a love of Islam through fashion and shows that Islam can keep abreast of the latest fashion styles. TLC is also a gathering place for hijab users in Indonesia. The purpose of joining the community as a friendship facility is evident from the results of the survey that as many as 66.4% of respondents joined the community aimed at friendship and multiplying friends, in addition to following the growing fashion trend. The love of Muslim women towards Tuneeca was manifested in TLC. The familiarity of Tuneeca lovers is not only intertwined through the virtual world but also the intimacy is in the form of gathering in each city where they live. Through TLC, its members like getting new siblings in various cities.

3. Fashion interests

Muslim clothing with an ordinary design makes the hijab less attractive to Muslim women. They are more interested in wearing more fashionable clothes. They wear the hijab with a stylish model in order to gain its popularity. For this reason, the TLC community was formed to keep making the image of a fashionable hijab. The survey results showed that TLC considered clothing or fashion as a lifestyle, as many as 62.7% of respondents answered fashion as love and taste, and 18.3% as trends and styles. This fact shows that fashion as a lifestyle compared to only 2.8% of members who said that the original

function of the hijab is to cover the body. Thus, in choosing clothes, the most important thing is the issue of models and colors that look suitable and bring the aura of beauty to the wearer. Fashion at this time is indeed a much-loved thing by the community. Hijab, which was used to be the clothes of ordinary Muslim women, has been transformed into the latest fashion that is loved by women. It is evidenced by the proliferation of TLC members throughout Indonesia and even Hong Kong. Tuneeca, as one of the modern hijab models among other models, presents to create the use of the latest fashion in order to be accepted by Muslim women so that they can still appear fashionable Muslim women.

c. Business interests

To meet the demands and needs of the hijab, we can see that in the market sector, boutiques and online shops for Muslim clothing appear to be a necessity to beautify themselves (women) through the use of various hijab models, this is a promising business. Unmitigated sometimes in the use of this hijab, use certain artist models to influence consumers. Of course, the price of the hijab becomes expensive. The fashion designers are competing to make the hijab as attractive as possible to become a trend, even costs very expensive. Moreover, when the hijabs are exhibited in star-rated hotels or in malls, those exhibitions are not only arena for expressing Muslim art but also mechanism to promote the latest hijab trends, which will have a high level of financial and quality, and fashion companies. Tuneeca Muslim women are present amid the hectic stretch of the fashion world.

With the mushrooming of the hijab wearer community such as TLC, it is a new opportunity for Muslim clothing business. Muslim women's clothes become one of the best-selling commodities at the moment. The survey results stated that 62% of TLC members also became agents and resellers in collaboration with the Tuneeca Company to boost their sales. With the increasing number of TLC members, the sales of their products became in demand in the market. Producers, agents, and resellers are very supportive of

developing TLC because the profits they make will be very abundant.

The results of this survey found that the reason for the TLC was 98.6% of the 150 respondents based on religious orders. For the TLC 89.4% stated that the hijab was an obligation to cover their bodies and carry them out as a symbol of obedience. The meaning of the hijab for TLC means limiting, protecting, and honoring as a Muslim. The reason for wearing a hijab for TLC is a religious order, but 78.7% admits that hijab forms can be adapted to modern culture. TLC members consider the hijab function as a symbol of obedience and a lifestyle. Regarding the boundaries of the body that must be covered, 76.8% of TLC members conduct a moderate mindset, namely that Muslim women's bodies must be covered except the face, palms, and both soles. As much as 96.5% states that the limits of the body that must be covered are determined by religion, not culture. Many things motivate TLC members to start wearing the hijab. Some are motivated by one's awareness, desires, and religious family environment.

The TLC hijab wearer creates a new meaning in the hijab. Hijab indicates Islamic as well as fashionable at the same time. This new meaning of the hijab changes people's perceptions of hijab: from outdated clothing into fashionable clothes. TLC members use Tuneeca brand that is relatively expensive. As many as 62.7% of TLC members admitted that they bought a hijab more than three times in a month because, for the TLC members, the hijab is not only a primary necessity to cover their body, but it is also a lifestyle. Most of them become hijab collectors. They are fond of collecting hijab. As many as 55.6% of them have an average of 20-50 pieces of Tuneeca collections, and 25.4% have around 35 collections, even 11.3% answered having more than 51 collections. This fact proves that love

and appetite for the hijab and the community can maintain the existence of a hijab in modern Muslim circles. As many as 85.9% of them stated that an ideal Muslim woman is not enough just to be righteous in the realm of religion that is private but also must be smart, stylish, and highly social. Various activities carried out by TLC members, including religious activities, charity and fashion shows, the lifestyle that carries their religious symbols. The modern, fashionable, stylish hijab of TLC members have brought a set of values and trends attached to TLC members as part of their lifestyle.

4. Shifting the Meaning of Hijab From Understanding the Concept of Hijab to Hijab Practices

Aquarini Prabasmoro sees fashion as a form of self-expression following what we want; we believe and make us feel comfortable, even though it is engineering outside them.⁵¹ The transformation in the use of hijab fashion in the Muslim community in Indonesia is the most basic social change in the globalization era that construct consumer culture and a consumerism lifestyle. Baudrillard stated that the characteristic of consumer society is the creation of a society where a logic shift in consumption, from the logic of need to the logic of desire.⁵² It is marked by how the consumption of hijab fashion fulfills not only the body cover but also the need for identity. People no longer consume the use-value, but the value of the signs.⁵³ For example, Muslim women prefer to wear a hijab when attending a wedding because of more practical, cost-effective, or increasing certain prestige. In other formal events, they do too, although they do not wear a hijab in their everyday life.

Most of the Indonesian people began to roll around wearing the hijab, not only among the *santri* or students in Islamic boarding school.

⁵¹Aquarini Prabasmoro, *Tubuh Dan Budaya Populer* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 1996), 56.

⁵²Jean Baudrillard, *The Ecstasy of Communication*, trans. Jimmy Firdaus (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2006), 34.

⁵³George Ritzer, *Modern Sociological Theory*, trans. Alimandan (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2006), 26.

Wearing the hijab had become a trend for the urban community and even became a characteristic of the upper-middle-class families. The veil is not only a symbol of the identity of a woman as a dress accessory; it eventually encourages the wearers to feel the joy of other forms of dressing. Since then, the hijab has become a trend, so that those who wear hijab are considered achieving a certain prestige. In other words, the veil can be regarded as capable of communicating the desire to be a prayerful person and, at the same time a modern Muslim because of the following trends.⁵⁴ Finally, of course, people regard the hijab as part of a lifestyle that can signify modernity. It proves that society transformed into a consumer society, where modern lifestyles are everything. It doesn't matter whether it's part of faithful obedience or just mere camouflage obedience of religion rules. Lifestyle has hidden real capital accumulation. Most are not cultural and symbolic capital. This lifestyle is transformed not only into the needs but also the desires. It proves that capitalism influence consumers to use mass products for producers' interest only.⁵⁵ To increase the need and the desire for hijab, besides communication in cyberspace, TLC often carries out certain events as well as a friendship vehicle to share while wearing clothes that following the modern style. Many activities are also sudden and luxurious. It is, of course, to attract more consumers to use the same quality with the modes. The use of clothing can also be one of its charms. All kinds of various kinds depend on the moment of reflection, for example, for graduation, marriage, leisure, office, etc.

a. Characteristics of Typical Hijab Tuneeca Lover Community Model

David Chaney said that staring or face-to-face now encourages to always appear attractive not only in the fashion world but also in daily life.⁵⁶ Besides, Mary F Rogers stated that women, in particular, must continue to pay attention to their body correctly to look successful.⁵⁷ It is not wrong if women in TLC try to always look up to the contemporary hijab or the fashionable hijab in Indonesia. Talking about the fashion world, according to Paul B Horton and Chester L Hunt, mode or fashions with more slowly style changes are not too trivial, and their appearance tends to cyclical.⁵⁸ So, the latest fashion world will only triumph in a certain period. To be a guide for women, in particular, to always provide the latest creations in appearance.

The survey results show that 72.4% of TLC members answered the function of the hijab not only to cover for the body but also as a lifestyle. In the TLC community, the cool concept is the highlighted main features, which is always a loss not to be followed by fashion lovers. As stated by ELF, one of the community members: "I like clothes with a unique design that have their characteristics, such as Tuneeca model of the hijab that is colorful, full of style and creation, so it fits well with young people."⁵⁹ It means that Tuneeca tries to create their style of hijab, which is not monotonous of colors, and pieces of clothing with a variety of motive colors become something beautiful. ELF believes that the characteristics of Tuneeca hijab model are clothes that are unique in design but simple and more colorful, and of course, ELF continues to pay attention to the hijab rules according to the Islamic religion, which covers the chest. By looking at the way,

⁵⁴Idi Subandy Ibrahim, *Budaya Populer Sebagai Komunikasi (Dinamika Popscape Dan Mediascape Di Indonesia Kontemporer)* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2007), 50.

⁵⁵Adlin Alfathri, *Registrasi Gaya Hidup; Teori Dan Realitas* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2006), 46.

⁵⁶David Chaney, *Life Style Sebuah Pengantar Komprehensif* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2004), 21.

⁵⁷Mary F Rogers, *Barbie Culture; Ikon Budaya Konsumerisme* (Yogyakarta: Relief, 2009), 27.

⁵⁸Paul B. Horton and Chester L. Hunt, *Sosiologi Jilid II*, trans. Amirudin Ramdan and Tita Sobari (Jakarta: Erlangga, 1996), 65.

⁵⁹ELF (Lampung), interviewed by Wardah, on August 5, 2017.

style, and clothing accessories, there is a shift in how Muslim dress up.

At first glance, the TLC hijab style looks complicated and patchy from outside appearance because what is displayed looks not as simple as its use. After all, it combines various colors and types more and more. Several comments on social networks also say the same thing that the features displayed by Tuneeca are very complicated details imitated from the design side, even though, according to the users themselves, look distinctive and beautiful. BR said the same thing: "The Tuneeca Hijab is considered to be more stylish and cool. It makes us interested in wearing it".⁶⁰ BR's fashion buff is seen as an honest comment that assumes that people wearing TLC-style hijabs will look more stylish and not conservative. BR herself recognizes that the characteristics of TLC can make fashionable Muslim women interested in following unusual hijab styles, which are colorful, unique designs and not easily imitated. BR is pleased with the presence of Tuneeca because initially, BR felt unhappy for fear of the views of others who will judge BR as a woman who is not stylish or not cools. However, after joining and seeing TLC, BR felt that she was given an oasis of modern hijab choices. "I used to use hijab initially for certain events; in daily life, I did not wear a hijab. But after seeing that TLC looks pretty, I was immediately interested in using hijab all the time because the models were cool, so it would not be considered old-fashioned if I used a hijab".⁶¹ In the sociological study, Coley Henslin called this phenomenon as *Looking-glass Self*, where someone imagines their appearance in front of other people, think of evaluations from others and interpret other people's reactions and then form feelings and ideas about themselves. A pleasant reflection in

this social mirror leads to a positive self-concept, while negative thinking leads to a negative self-concept.⁶²

b. Identity of Hijab wearers in Tuneeca Lover Community

In social identity theory, individuals are not regarded as an absolute individual in their life. Individuals are part of a particular group, both consciously and unconsciously. There are two types of identities often discussed by sociologists, according to the Giddens, namely social identity and self-identity.⁶³ Analytical forms of identity are different but closely related to each other. A character is present because humans need to categorize something. That way, social status also involves categories and assigns people to certain large and longer social or social structures than any other particular situation. In the book *Bukan Dunia Berbeda Sosiologi Komunitas Islam*, Nur Syam⁶⁴ explained that someone prefers identity symbols that symbolize beauty (aesthetics) rather than identity substances attached based on realistic functions. The number of luxury homes in many cities represents an aesthetic system in people's lives. He thought that commercialization and life aesthetics were increasingly apparent when he saw various phenomena of performance and style of dress, especially among women. Nowadays, there are more and more mothers and young girls dressed in Islamic clothing ways. They actualize Islamic identity through various dress traditions. The trend has favored the contemporary hijab among women becomes an example of a very prominent global paradox system work.⁶⁵ In TLC, the members attempt to establish an identity as a patron community of contemporary hijab styles. It has become not only the selling point of TLC community that

⁶⁰BR (Malang), interviewed by Wardah, on August 29, 2017.

⁶¹BR (Malang), interviewed by Wardah, on August 29, 2017.

⁶²James M Coley Henslin, *Sosiologi Dengan Pendekatan Membumi* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2007), 57.

⁶³Anthony Giddens, *Sociology* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 35.

⁶⁴Nur Syam, *Bukan Dunia Berbeda Sosiologi Komunitas Islam* (Surabaya: Pustaka Eureka, 2005).

⁶⁵Bani Syarif Maula, "Indonesian Muslim Women in Contemporary Political Contestations: Challenges to Gender Mainstreaming Policy in the 2019 Elections," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 19, no. 2 (2019): 195–217.

can explain to the public that the perception and use of the hijab have shifted but also an oasis for women who felt dilemmas in wearing a hijab. TLC members until now reach 13,000 members. It indicates that fashion trends quite famous in Indonesia. It certainly provides its own identity for the TLC community.

It is the identity of TLC that spreads the hijab trend in the community, as admitted by RM. She states that the TLC community looks exclusive, which is different from other groups.⁶⁶ The exclusivity of a community emerged from a community's social identity born of collective behavior. Based on RM explanation, exclusivity derived from member behavior, which illustrated differently in their hijab style knowledge compared to others. "I feel exclusive because we know more about hijab models than others."⁶⁷ In creating self-identity and social identity, the community can focus on fashion choices and lifestyles. Like TLC, exclusivity is born from their dress style. This exclusivity also attaches a social status to this contemporary hijab community. John Berger, as quoted by Idi Subandy Ibrahim, said that our clothes, hairstyles, and so on are the same level and used to express our identity.⁶⁸ One of TLC members said, "I feel exclusive because we are different in terms of the forms of activities we make, how to look cute hijab and certainly different from the others."⁶⁹ In line with John Berger, Anthony Giddens argued that social identity refers to specific characteristics that are given to someone or an individual by another person or society. These are markers to indicate who, in a fundamental sense, that person is. At the same time, they are a person in relation to other individuals who share the same attributes.⁷⁰ TLC phenomenon

that forms an exclusive group identity in the dress style is also inseparable from the distortion of understanding desired by TLC. It means that personality is born from a complete form of communication. Body language, dress style, and individual lifestyle determine the birth of labeling for a community. Stratification also appears when lifestyle and fashion choices reflect that they are an upper-class community. Giddens realized that it would be challenging to argue that the stratification of classes no longer depends only on economic differences but also on consumption and lifestyle differences.⁷¹ HR also emphasizes that their collective behavior is a community identity. TLC can plan to form their identity-based on its style of hijab that distinguishes it from other communities. But possible distortions of understanding can occur. Michael Pusey argued that understanding is a potential universal thing that exists in everyday and collective communication and social actions.⁷² HR also underlined that HR is not a community that only focuses on the fashion world by putting aside the religious side.⁷³

According to Chaney, as quoted by Subandy, every behavior of an individual or group will form a social identity, regardless of whether the character is positive or negative.⁷⁴ It means there are functions and identities, whether they want to show or not. Robert K. Merton (1910-2003) suggests that functions can be manifest or latent. The manifest function is a function that is seen or intended, while a latent function is a function that is silent or not intended. These two functions refer to the actions of a person or social group. The description of how the TLC identifies themselves in the community according to its

⁶⁶RM (Yogyakarta), interviewed by Wardah, on September 12, 2017.

⁶⁷RM (Yogyakarta), interviewed by Wardah, on September 12, 2017.

⁶⁸Ibrahim, *Budaya Populer Sebagai Komunikasi (Dinamika Popscape Dan Mediascape Di Indonesia Kontemporer)*, 103.

⁶⁹RM (Yogyakarta), interviewed by Wardah, on September 12, 2017.

⁷⁰Giddens, *Sociology*, 65.

⁷¹Giddens, *Sociology*, 66.

⁷²Michael Pusey, *Jürgen Habermas: Key Sociologists*, ed. Peter Hamilton (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁷³HR (Bandung), interviewed by Wardah, on September 24, 2017

⁷⁴Ibrahim, *Budaya Populer Sebagai Komunikasi (Dinamika Popscape Dan Mediascape Di Indonesia Kontemporer)*, 17.

members' and committee's viewpoint signifies an exclusive and commercial community in nature. Exclusivity refers to the status that the TLC community has its style. Its style is different from other fashion style communities. This finding is similar to the research conducted by Qowim Mustofa who stated the style of hijab wore by university students belongs to different organizations, signified an identity of that group.⁷⁵

Moreover, TLC members' lifestyle also shows other identities. Their habit of spending free time and money to hunt for their ideal clothes is a consumptive lifestyle. There are also work programs that emphasize commercial behavior and put aside the religious side of a community that carries a religious concept as expressed by Ibrahim about one's religion regarding clothing and lifestyle. He stated, "For contemporary Indonesian Muslims, the dress is not only a statement of one's Islamic religious identity, but clothing is an essential part of the modern expression of attitudes and lifestyles as a trendy and always fashionable Muslim. Fashion is regarded to offer models and materials to construct identity."⁷⁶

Another example of a more commercial lifestyle is when TLC often holds gathering activities, and the present members are subject to inexpensive administrative fees. It establishes social stratification from the TLC community with other communities or individuals. In the social stratification by Weber, upper-class people always differentiate their association with their class. In this case, TLC tends to feel comfortable choosing a lifestyle in slang and luxurious place in the eyes of the public and holds prestigious events in the eyes of young women. The best way to actualize their wealth to be seen publicly. It shows the existence of practices and institutions that make class relations and class

differences have their meaning through certain items and characterized by political wisdom.⁷⁷

The results of the study show that despite the understanding of the hijab itself for TLC, of course, they have different perceptions of the veil when viewed in terms of fashion where the trend of hijab in Indonesia is prevalent because of its increasingly rapid development. According to the phenomenological perspective of Alfred Schutz, as mentioned in Sobur, the social world does not originate from human inventions themselves but is derived socially from people.⁷⁸ It means that human actions are obvious things and imitated from their social environment. The popularity of the hijab in Indonesia because of continuous interaction among Indonesian Muslim women that makes hijab fashion popular and it overgrows.

Understanding of veil for TLC is based on the relation between hijab and fashion. TLC understands the hijab as a positive development from traditional and unattractive hijab usage into an attractive Muslim fashion clothing. Many hijab brands in Indonesia becomes a Muslim fashion icon in the world that has a variety of models, style, color combination so that Muslim dress in Indonesia has its peculiarities. However, fashion hijab in Indonesia also seems to have a harmful impact. It is considered to eliminate the sacred value of Muslim obligation in covering the body part that makes the hijab fashions will only show a practical and realistic side in the modern Muslim lifestyle.

Consumptive behavior is a communication system that occurs because there is a shift in capital values in capitalism. Jean Baudrillard gave an interesting argument about the shift in consumptive activities. In the traditional period, the community carried out consumptive activities on things related to their original

⁷⁵Qowim Musthofa, "Jilbab Sebagai Identitas Organisasi Islam Di Perguruan Tinggi," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 2, no. 2 (2017): 143–155.

⁷⁶Ibrahim, *Budaya Populer Sebagai Komunikasi (Dinamika Popscape Dan Mediascape Di Indonesia Kontemporer)*.

⁷⁷Peter Corrigan, *The Sociological of Consumption* (New Delhi: Sage Production, 1997), 161.

⁷⁸Corrigan, *The Sociological of Consumption*.

functions (use-value) obtained directly from the address or traditional market. During the period of capitalism, people consumed not based on their function (use-value), but rather their exchange value. The exchange rate in Baudrillard's view does not mean economically, like money and things.⁷⁹ About this, Baudrillard refuted Karl Marx's thinking about the economic value inherent in an item or object.⁸⁰ He said that in the current era of capitalism, an item or product is consumed because of its symbolic exchange value (the entity can not be seen but can be understood). For that reason, people wear hijab are not merely for covering their bodies, but also for prestige and class symbol. Modern markets such as malls and supermarkets are built in a luxurious place to facilitate the demands. Numerous boutiques and clothing stores offering hijab models and trends scattered in malls and supermarkets, even in traditional markets.

There are three other logics related to fashion logic or signs, according to Baudrillard.⁸¹ First, functional value logic refers to the philosophy of operational practice, usability, and objects when considered as consumers or something related to them. Second, the logic of a referring exchange rate economy based on price considerations or commercial exchanges. Third, the logic of the symbolic exchange of logic applies to the logic of ambivalence or giving and referring to account of the involvement of relations.

Consumptive practices are part of a different social activity (social differentiation). Those who buy or use specific products will make themselves different from others. In this context, it does not mean merely the construction of economic, social classes, but also political and cultural development. When someone uses the latest model of hijab, it means that she is a rich person, but can also be "labeled" as a career woman, a modern Muslim woman or a socialite woman. Therefore, in

other words, consumptive behavior is closely related to social tastes. So that these tastes then create differences in identity, habits, values, or social expression. Therefore, when someone criticizes a person's consumptive behavior, it means she is criticizing her taste (taste). This sense of identity unwittingly "stimulates" someone to follow the current hijab fashion trend.

Changes in the meaning of the use of the hijab have indeed become a trend among Muslim communities. Can it be considered as a form of other obedience in living a religious system or just "joining in" (considered fashionable) following a lifestyle? The phenomenon of the hijab has finally become a pseudo-reality, hyperreality, according to Baudrillard's thought. Hijab is a sign that the person is Muslim, but on the other hand gives another different meaning, for example, to cover physical shortcomings or to show that the hijab wearers is a modern person who obeys religion. This Hijab is a symbol of the Muslim identity in the contemporary world, even though the Hijab model used has a new form that has been engineered by the market through a growing trend. Ironically, to wear the hijab alone, women folk still have to choose it, especially regarding the model, color, and brand. Similarly, when a hungry person wants to be regarded elegant, he or she must consume McDonald's, for example. Interpreted more radically, actually, the headscarf is just a fake mask to cover up the naturalness of women.

This situation of "hyperreality" makes this modern society excessive in the pattern of consuming something that is not clear of its essence. Most of these people consume not because of their economic needs but because of the effects of simulation models that cause people's lifestyles different. They become more concerned with their lifestyle and the values they uphold. Even though what is offered is all pseudo. It indicates that in Indonesia, the hijab appears in the form of symbols that have many

⁷⁹Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumption Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 56.

⁸⁰Ritzer, *Modern Sociological Theory*.

⁸¹Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002).

meanings and are based on the understanding of women who use them. Furthermore, Suzanne April Brenner emphasized that the hijab in Indonesia is a "one hundred percent modern" event where hijab women are a sign of globalization, a symbol of identification of Muslims in Indonesia with Muslims in other countries in the modern world. Plus, the refusal of local traditions at least in terms of dress and at the same time, the wearer also rejects Western hegemony and other matters related to it in Indonesia.⁸²

Therefore, Washburn also categorized the hijab as a personal symbol, which brings goodness to the level of personality and culture because not everyone wears it.⁸³ The debate of the hijab occurs between media and pop lifestyles spiritual values and slang values. Finally, the phenomenon of the hijab needs to be understood as the application of religious texts, the expression of reality, and the marking of market rulers. Indeed, in the context of understanding the hijab, it is important to remember that the choice of the hijab is a choice of women. Regardless the hijab is interpreted as an identity, as a form of resistance, as social prestige or on the basis of the Qur'an's command. But, in fact, women want to choose the meaning and belief (belief) when they want to (medium) use the hijab. At present, the phenomenon of the hijab is not enough anymore only to be understood merely as an expression of piety. However, for some modern people, Muslim clothing itself does not change the role of contemporary fashion. A misconception appeared on how the logic of the fashion industry met the shift in religious consciousness transformed in the form of exoticism and symbolism of godliness in a dress.

In understanding the trend of hijab in TLC, lack of motivation occurs in the emergence of a community as a medium of fashion hijab communication. A motive is a strength or encouragement that comes from within to act or do something. In psychology, motives are natural; when an individual is born has brought certain causes, but then those will also develop.⁸⁴ TLC, as a communication media, has a variety of motives, namely the motives for appreciation, inspiration, and existence that lie behind the TLC combine in the community that is sensitive to fashion. The motive for recognition is that TLC considers that the community means for communication media that is easy, practical, and efficient and has a wide range of effective information dissemination. The inspiration motive is that the decisions of TLCs in using the hijab were also motivated by those who had already used veil and tried to always look following fashionable trends so that the hijab is not taboo anymore. TLC members' use of gray, ancient, and unsuitable model for young women motivate them to inform the society that wearing Muslim clothing is attended to both an Islamic obligation and fashionable. According to Fiske,⁸⁵ someone expresses something to others intending to encourage changes in others through the garment, one of fashion or clothing items.⁸⁶ Then through the community, they get a space as a *syi'ar* media or *da'wah* to show the public that the use of Muslim fashion is widespread and has a unique style. The use of Muslim clothing now with its fashion characteristics is better known as the word hijab. *Syi'ar* or *da'wah* is the basis of TLC to make the community a medium of communication by displaying attractive hijab fashion. The motive for existence is TLC's use of the community, because they want to show

⁸²Alfathri, *Registrasi Gaya Hidup; Teori Dan Realitas*, 47.

⁸³M A Cooper and K W Washburn, "The Relationships of Body Temperature to Weight Gain, Feed Consumption, and Feed Utilization in Broilers under Heat Stress," *Poultry Science* 77, no. 2 (1998): 237–242.

⁸⁴B Walgito, *Piskologi Sosial: Suatu Pengantar* (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 2007), 141.

⁸⁵John Fiske, *Cultural and Communication Studies Sebuah Pengantar Paling Komprehensif* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2004), 57.

⁸⁶Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, 16.

its uniqueness in aligning Muslim style with a blend of world fashion trends and those who use hijab. TLC tries to detect the community by demonstrating the use of Muslim clothing to be used for those who do not use Muslim clothing. Cassandra also considers utilizing the community to actively maintain its existence not only in Indonesia but also abroad. The motives described in this study are more referring to aesthetic reasons in the use of community with hijab fashion content. The TLC motive in using the community as a medium of communication about hijab fashion seeks to explain why TLCs always try to show the use of attractive hijab and inseparable from the element of fashion. Besides, TLC's creativity in processing their community to have its theme added with ever-updated fashion hijab content become an added value for TLC in showing and informing the popularity of fashion hijab in Indonesia. It is proved by their uniqueness and creativity that align with the fashion hijab in creating a hijab starting from dress, clothing, accessories, and the choice of places that make controversies more interesting.

TLC members feel many differences before and after being active and start as TLC Indonesia. Communities that are made as hijab fashion communication earn TLC members get useful experiences and insights for themselves and get a lot of responses from other communities who feel inspired because of their content. The Hijab community can encourage the public about the ideas of Islam, and they find out and know new things. Joining communities that are initially only a form of self-expression, it opens opportunities for TLC to get a profession that is considered as their interest and talent. Besides, to get a lot of benefits when known as TLC, they also experience negative responses because of their membership in TLC, such as consumerist women, exclusive socialites, and "hijab only for fashion." Those negative responses are also learning materials for them to be better.

C. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the above discussion on TLC, this article concludes that:

TLC creates a new meaning in the hijab that hijab can reflect both Islamic and fashionable. For them, the dressing does not only function to cover the nakedness and body, but also aesthetic value and luxury. Not only following Islamic values but also their lifestyle values. From the discussion above, the TLC aims to shape identity as a patron community of contemporary hijab styles. It has become the selling point of the TLC community, which can explain to the public that the perception and use of the hijab have shifted.

TLC has a variety of motives in joining the community as a medium of communication regarding hijab fashion, which consists of attraction motives, inspiration motives, and existence motives. TLC is a communication media regarding the practice of hijab in the community. The community makes it easy for Muslim women to interact and inspire in all matters relating to the beauty of Muslim women in covering body based on sharia, and also share experiences about Islam.

Phenomenologically, there is a shifting meaning of the hijab from the original function to cover the body to a fashion trend. There is a shift in the age of Muslims in Indonesia, especially in the phenomenon of TLC hijab practices that occur in Indonesia.

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